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it, the method may have been adopted for the occasion because the mothers know the fussiness of whites in such matters. 863 177

Weaning comes later for the Papago than for most white children. Unaware of her child's exact age at the time, the mother who is questioned about it is likely to laugh and say with a little embarrassment, "He was pretty big." Several instances were found in which the youngest child of a family nursed four or five years, but the older children were weaned at from eighteen to thirty months. A few mothers begin weaning at about a year, but they are a small minority; ordinarily the mother continues nursing well into the next pregnancy. 862

Several weaning methods are used. A few mothers in Baboquivari District said that they simply stopped nursing their babies and let them cry for four to fourteen days until they forgot, but elsewhere on the Reservation this was not the practice.

Mothers usually say they "just stop" nursing and that they have no particular difficulty. When a child begins fussing to nurse, the mother does not deny him straightforwardly but puts forth great effort to draw his attention elsewhere. She cajoles him into playing with his siblings or shows him a man coming on horseback or dogs fighting in the yard. Sometimes she is successful in diverting him, and, after several similar instances, the child does "just stop."

If a mother cannot wean a child by this process, she has two alternatives. She may leave the child with his grandmother for a time. If the grandmother lives in the same house, the mother goes away; if not, the child is taken to the grandmother. The weaning is not accomplished at one fell swoop; the baby is left for only a couple of hours at first and eventually overnight. His relationship with a grandmother is always cordial and going to see her is a pleasure, hence this weaning method, like the preceding one, is a relatively painless one. The child seldom gives any trouble for a grandmother; he seems to forget all about nursing unless reminded by the sight of his mother. [603]

A few women, usually those who have no mother or mother-in-law at hand to help, put chili on their breasts to discourage the nursers; one application is usually sufficient.

Weaning means that the child begins to sleep apart from his mother, for she no longer needs to nurse him during the night. In the eastern districts a crib may be provided for the baby, but the general custom on the Reservation is for the weaned child to sleep with one or more of his brothers and sisters in the same room with the parents. If there is no room in the bed with the older children, the baby may sleep with either grandparent or almost any other 866 854

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854 relative. There is no consistent pattern for this, and he does not necessarily
866 sleep with the same person every night. Only in rare instances are the two sexes separated for sleeping until children are nine or ten years old.

869 In addition to learning motor skills and being weaned, which are common to children everywhere, the young Papago child is taught another important lesson; he must not play with or handle wild animals. Since the Papago believe that nearly all animals can cause disease and that some are especially dangerous to children (see chap. vi), as soon as a child begins to walk around the yard he must learn to keep away from wild animals. He is warned away from a gopher mound and is not allowed to handle rabbits shot for food. These warnings are immediately effective and have a powerful influence on the child. He is imbued with a great and lasting fear of animals and of the sickness they bring (see chap. xiv).

PATTERNS OF CHILD-TRAINING

861 General patterns of child-training among the Papago are based on the belief
855 that a little child should be happy and therefore he should be humored as often as possible. His development should suit his own pace, and he should not be forced or even strongly urged to follow the wishes of older persons.

The attitude of adults toward little children is permissive, and they are not rebuked for interfering with the work or conversation of their elders.[6]

Children are allowed to play with almost anything they please except animals. Teaching care of property is not a problem, for there are few things in the Papago home which the child can damage. Anything which the baby should not handle is put out of sight. If he does cry for some forbidden object, his mother will try to interest him in a substitute; if he wants a china dish, he is given an unbreakable pan. Should he persist in crying for the dish, the mother will express her displeasure verbally, "Oh, Juan, don't cry! Why do you do that?" and at the same time renew her efforts to distract his attention. If all efforts fail, she will give him the desired object and watch him carefully as he plays with it. When one mother was showing the writer a valued clay figurine used in treating illness, her two-year-old son howled for it. Finally, she gave it to him, but she held him on her lap, keeping her hands on or near the doll, and directing his attention elsewhere as soon as possible. A valued object in the home of a relative or friend would be treated in the same way.

861 In situations where the child must be denied, efforts are made to keep him

6. Underhill (*op. cit.*, p. 159) tells of an occasion when she was taking texts and was seriously inconvenienced by two children who romped through the room and drowned out the informant's words. When she asked the interpreter if the children could not be told to keep quiet, he replied, "I don't think so. They are his grandchildren."

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THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.[1] He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-ten-year-old girls with young women of the households (see chap. ix).